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Since 1825 the progress of the platform has been rapid. To its earlier functions of expression and discussion it has added functions of control, until now, in Mr. Jephson's opinion, it must be regarded as a principal feature of the English constitution, distinguishing that polity from all forms of government in the past and from the governments of all other European states in the present. No comparison with American politics is made, but the American reader will be satisfied, before he closes the book, that all comparisons of cabinet and congressional governments must be incomplete and even erroneous which neglect the relative positions of the platform in these two systems. In this country the platform acts upon government in some ways more indirectly than in England, in other ways much more directly, and on the whole perhaps not less effectively.

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS.

*La Société Moderne. Etudes Morales et Politiques.* Par J. G. COURCELLE SENEUIL. Paris, Guillaumin et Cie., 1892.—12mo, 543 pp.

For what has really proved his valedictory, the distinguished French publicist made a pretty faithful gleaning of notes read before the Academy of Moral Sciences, papers from the *Journal des Économistes* and fragments hitherto unpublished. They cover the whole field of the political and moral sciences, and range from the consideration of the ultimate principles of politics and ethics down to particular administrative questions, such as the recruitment and promotion of civil servants. The book betrays too plainly its method of making ; for, although co-ordinated subjects are thrown into juxtaposition, no impression of unity and system is produced. This is not saying that there is no unity and system in M. Courcelle Seneuil's thought. Quite the contrary is true. Wherever we open the work, whether the topic falls upon politics, ethics, pedagogics, history or administration, we find the same circle of ideas, the same fundamental principles. This, in fact, makes the chief interest of the book. It gives us, on a great variety of topics and in a great variety of forms, the ideas of what has been and is to-day the leading school of French political philosophy—the orthodox.

It may be not uninteresting to note (at least as landmarks) some of these leading ideas. For instance, we find in the first essay, on the necessity of co-ordinating the political and moral sciences, that the object of investigation or study in these sciences is man willing and acting, *i.e.* human activity. But the author repudiates the idea that the social sciences are in any way an extension of biology or anthropology, and declares that all analogies drawn from the latter sciences, especially

the doctrine of the struggle for existence and of race characteristics, are premature and false. The division of sociology into a science and an art is familiar, but the further classification which groups philosophy, political economy and history as science, and politics, morals, the law and pedagogy as art, is peculiar and betrays, perhaps, a slight bias due to the author's devotion to economic studies. The ultimate authorities or sanctions in social science are defined as follows. Man is ruled at first by his appetites, afterwards by his education (hence the importance of pedagogy). As man advances in civilization the conflict of wills engenders public opinion, or the spiritual power, and from this spiritual power and inferior to it is born the coercitive or political power (government) established in all civilized societies. God exists, the materialists to the contrary notwithstanding, but it is not necessary that our knowledge of him should be exact or exhaustive. Man possesses free will; and although God in his designs has assigned a destiny to man, all our efforts to attain a knowledge of it have been in vain.

With this foundation of a "spiritual power" and a God-given but unknown destiny for the human race, it is evident that most practical problems of politics, ethics and economics will be solved in accordance with the author's notion of "what ought to be." The end of government, for instance, is to serve the common interest of the citizens. The common interest is justice; it is to render good and exact justice that governments are ordained (pages 75 and 90). And a little further, more specifically: "One sees clearly to-day that the mission of government is to assure peace to the governed, to permit them to labor, and '*laisser faire*' their enterprises, their exchanges and their contracts." The grand principle of justice is "*suum cuique*." And finally, speaking of the democratic society towards which men have been marching for a long time, he says (p. 85) :

La liberté du travail et des échanges, l'inviolabilité de la propriété privée, l'égalité devant la loi sont, dans cet idéal, les principes fondamentaux, reconnus par les fondateurs de la grande République américaine et par ceux de la première République française.

This sentence gives the keynote to the views of M. Courcelle Seneuil. It is easy to see how he will discuss the rights of property, the relations of employer and employee, the questions of free trade, of taxation, *etc.* Always temperate and moderate, with the most exalted religious and ethical notions, he carries, however, into the consideration of all the relations of human life the principle of individual freedom and individual responsibility. One can only say that the history of France for the last fifty years and her present condition go far to justify the necessity, or at least desirability, of preaching this gospel.

RICHMOND MAYO-SMITH.